ANCIENT EGYPT

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ANCIENT EGYPT.

EGYPTIAN USE OF BEER AND WINES.

THE alcoholic beverages of ancient Egypt were of two kinds, beer and wine.

I.—BEER is frequently mentioned in the ancient records,[1] the earliest reference known to the writer being one of the Vth dynasty, in which beer is named as a mortuary-offering.[2] As a beverage, therefore, beer must be of still earlier date.

Egyptian beer is referred to by several of the classical writers; thus, Herodotus says that the Egyptians drank a wine obtained from barley.[3] Diodorus states that they made a drink from barley, which "for smell and sweetness of taste" was "not much inferior to wine."[4] Strabo says that barley beer was a preparation peculiar to the Egyptians and that it was "common among many tribes, but the mode of preparing it differs in each,"[5] and that it was one of the principal beverages of Alexandria.[6] This same writer also states that the Ethiopians made a drink both from barley and from millet.[7] Pliny says that an intoxicating beverage was made in Egypt from corn.[8]

Naturally none of the ancient beer has remained to the present day, and therefore it has not been possible to examine it, and though specimens described as the dried residue of beer have been found, these have not been analysed.[9] Barley and barley mash derived from beer-making have also been found.[10] It is practically certain, however, that, both in mode of preparation and in composition, the ancient Egyptian beer approximated closely to the modern Nubian drink called *bouza*, which may now be described.

Bouza.—Burckhardt states that, in Berber (Nubia), *bouza* was made from strongly leavened millet bread, which was broken into crumbs, mixed with water, and kept for several hours over a slow fire, after which more water was added and the mixture left for two nights to ferment. He describes the ordinary

[1] J. H. Breasted, *Ancient Records of Egypt*, V (Index), p. 108. A. Erman, *The Literature of the Ancient Egyptians*, translation by A. M. Blackman, 1927. [*See* the *otakh* (brewery) in the IIIrd dynasty, ANCIENT EGYPT, 1926, p. 16.]

[2] J. H. Breasted, *op. cit.*, I, 252.

[3] II, 77.

[4] I, III.

[5] *Geography*, XVII, II, 5.

[6] *Ibid.*, XVII, I, 14.

[7] *Ibid.*, XVII, II, 2.

[8] *Natural History*, XIV, 29.

[9] W. M. Flinders Petrie and J. E. Quibell, *Naqada and Ballas*, 1896, p. 19. W. M. Flinders Petrie, *Prehistoric Egypt*, 1920, p. 43. H. E. Winlock, *Bull. Egypt. Exped.*, 1918–20; *The Met. Mus. of Art, New York*, II, 1920, p. 32. C. M. Firth, *The Arch. Survey of Nubia*, Report for 1909–10, p. 17.

[10] W. M. Flinders Petrie, *Gizeh and Rifeh*, 1907, p. 23.

bouza as not being strained and looking more like soup or porridge than a beverage, but mentions a better quality obtained by straining through a cloth.[1] He also says that barley was sometimes used instead of millet and produced a superior beer, which was of a pale muddy colour and very nutritious, and that in Cairo and all the towns and larger villages of Upper Egypt there were shops for the sale of *bouza*, kept exclusively by Nubians.[2]

Bruce gives a similar account of the preparation of *bouza* in Abyssinia.[3]

Lane states that *bouza* was usually made from barley bread, crumbled, mixed with water, strained and left to ferment, but that occasionally the barley was replaced by millet.[4]

Specimens of *bouza* (fourteen different samples) purchased from retail dealers in Cairo, and examined by the writer, had the appearance of thin gruel; they contained much yeast, were in a state of active fermentation, and had all been made exclusively from coarsely ground wheat, but whether directly from flour, or indirectly from bread, it was impossible to determine; the amount of alcohol present varied from 6·2 per cent. to 8·1 per cent. by volume, with a mean of 7·1 per cent.

Enquiries elicited the information that, in Cairo, *bouza* brewed for sale is prepared from wheaten flour, which is made into dough and slightly baked, and that, in order to induce fermentation quickly, a little old *bouza* from a previous brewing is added. It is also stated that, before the introduction of the recent Excise law having reference to alcohol, *bouza* was sometimes brewed privately from leavened wheaten bread, with the addition of a small proportion of specially prepared malted wheat to give a flavour, no ferment being used beyond that present in the bread.

The identification of the ancient Egyptian beer with modern *bouza* receives confirmation from various scene-paintings in the tombs,[5] first explained by Borchardt.[6] Thus in a VIth-dynasty tomb at Deir el-Gebrâwi,[7] in a VIth-dynasty tomb chapel at Meir,[8] and in a Middle Kingdom tomb in the Theban necropolis,[9] bread-making and brewing are associated, the former manifestly being a preliminary step towards the latter.

An XIth-dynasty wooden model of the process of brewing found at Deir el-Bahri shows the operations of corn being ground, dough being kneaded, and bread being baked, which latter is then soaked in water and used for making beer.[10] Similar models of about the same date from Beni Hasan are illustrated and described by Garstang.[11]

[1] *Travels in Nubia*, 1822, p. 201.

[2] *Op. cit.*, pp. 132–3.

[3] *Travels to Discover the Source of the Nile*, 2nd ed., 1805, p. 65.

[4] *The Manners and Customs of the Modern Egyptians*, 1860, pp. 96 and 342.

[5] P. Montet, "La Bière," *Les Scènes de la Vie Privée dans les Tombeaux Égyptiens de l'Ancien Empire*, 1925, pp. 242–54. H. F. Lutz, *Viticulture and Brewing in the Ancient Orient*, 1922.

[6] *Aeg. Zeitsch.*, 1897, p. 128.

[7] N. de G. Davies, *The Rock Tombs of Deir el-Gèbrâwi*, II, 1902, p. 26, Pl. XX.

[8] A. M. Blackman, *The Rock Tombs of Meir*, IV, 1924, p. 35, Pl. XIII.

[9] N. de G. Davies and A. H. Gardiner, *The Tomb of Antefoker and his Wife Senet*, 1920, p. 15, Pls. XI, XIA.

[10] H. E. Winlock, *Bull. Egypt. Exped.*, 1918–20; *The Met. Mus. of Art, New York*, II, 1920, pp. 20 and 26.

[11] *The Burial Customs of Ancient Egypt*, 1907, pp. 63, 73–6, 86, 94 and 126–8.

Statements have been made that the ancient Egyptians used flavouring ingredients in brewing, much in the same manner as hops are employed at the present day, and that these materials included lupin, skirret (*Sium sisarum*), the root of an Abyssinian plant,[1] rue and safflower,[2] but no satisfactory evidence is given to support this, and in modern *bouza* no such flavouring substances are employed. The Abyssinians, however, in Bruce's time, added to their *bouza* the bitter leaves of a certain tree called "*ghesh*."[3]

II.—WINE usually denotes the fermented juice of the fresh grape, and this was the principal wine of the ancient Egyptians, but in addition they had at least two other kinds—palm wine and date wine, and, according to Pliny, a further kind made from a plum termed *myxa*.[4] The three wines first mentioned may now be described; about the fourth nothing is known beyond Pliny's statement.

Grape Wine.—Wine, meaning grape wine, is frequently referred to in the ancient records,[5] the earliest reference known to the writer being of the IIIrd dynasty.[6]

Vineyard scenes are often depicted on the tomb walls[7]: thus, to take a few examples, in a Vth-dynasty tomb at Deshasheh the gathering of grapes is shown,[8] in a XIIth-dynasty tomb at El Bersheh,[9] in several tombs of the same period at Beni Hasan,[10] and in several mortuary chapels of XVIIIth-dynasty date in the Theban necropolis,[11] both the gathering and pressing of grapes are pictured.

In the XVIIIth dynasty, wine was being received by Egypt as tribute from Asia (Arvad, Zahi and Retenu)[12]; in the XXIInd and XXVIth dynasties, respectively, there are records of its being obtained from the oases of the western desert,[13] and in the XXVIth dynasty from the western Delta.[13]

Herodotus, strangely enough, says that there were no vines in Egypt,[14] though he mentions that the Egyptian priests drank wine,[15] and that wine was consumed at certain festivals,[16] but since he records the importation of wine into Egypt from Greece and Phoenicia,[17] he may have thought that all the wine used in the country was of foreign origin.

[1] J. G. Wilkinson, *The Ancient Egyptians*, I, 1890, p. 54.

[2] *Bier und Bierbereitung bei den Völkern der Urzeit*, I, *Babylonien und Egyptien*, Berlin, 1926.

[3] James Bruce, *Travels to Discover the Source of the Nile*, VII, pp. 66 and 335.

[4] *Natural History*, XIII, p. 10.

[5] J. H. Breasted, *op. cit.*, V (Index), p. 170. A. Erman, *op. cit.*

[6] J. H. Breasted, *op. cit.*, I, 173. [*See also* wine-press in the Ist dynasty, ANCIENT EGYPT, 1926, p. 15.]

[7] P. Montet, "La Culture de la Vigne et les Vendanges," *op. cit.*, 1925, pp. 265–73. H. F. Lutz, *op. cit.*, 1922.

[8] W. M. Flinders Petrie, *Deshasheh*, 1898, p. 9, Pl. XVI.

[9] P. E. Newberry, *El Bersheh*, I, p. 35, Pls. XXIV, XXVI and XXXI.

[10] Idem, *Beni Hasan*, I, 1893, p. 31, Pl. XII, and II, 1894, p. 60, Pl. XVI.

[11] N. de G. Davies, *The Tomb of Nakht at Thebes*, 1917, pp. 69 and 70, Pls. XXII, XXIII and XXVI; *The Tomb of Two Officials of Tuthmosis the Fourth*, 1923, p. 31, Pl. XXX; *Five Theban Tombs*, 1913, p. 41, Pl. XXXI; A. E. P. Weigall, *A Guide to the Antiquities of Upper Egypt*, 1910, pp. 115, 123, 139, 160 and 178.

[12] J. H. Breasted, *op. cit.*, V (Index), p. 170. A. Erman, *op. cit.*

[13] J. H. Breasted, *op. cit.*, IV, 734 and 992.

[14] II, 77. [15] II, 37. [16] II, 60. [17] III, 6.

Diodorus refers to the vines of Egypt[1] and to the Pharaoh drinking wine.[2]

Strabo states that Libyan wine,[3] which he says was mixed with sea-water,[4] was of poor quality, but that another Egyptian wine, the Mareotic, made in large quantity, was good.[3] He also refers to wine from an oasis in the western desert[5] and to wine from the Fayum, which latter he says was produced in abundance.[6]

Pliny, in his enumeration of wines foreign to Italy, includes a kind termed Sebennys, made in Egypt from three different varieties of grapes "of the very highest quality," namely, the Thasian grape, the "smoky" grape and the "pitchy" grape.[7] The Thasian grape, probably so called because it was introduced into Egypt from Thasos, is described as being "remarkable for its sweetness and laxative qualities."[8] Pliny also mentions an Egyptian wine that he states produced miscarriage.[8]

There is no recorded instance of wine having been discovered in an Egyptian tomb, though wine-jars and clay sealings from wine-jars are very common. A specimen of material from the bottom of a jar found by Monneret de Villard at the Monastery of St. Simeon, near Aswan, analysed by the writer, proved to be a wine residue, and in this monastery may still be seen a complete installation for making wine.[9]

Palm Wine.—A wine-producing palm is referred to in the Pyramid Texts,[10] and both Herodotus[11] and Diodorus[12] state that palm wine was used in Egypt to wash out the abdominal cavity during the process of mummification.

Wilkinson says[13] that palm wine, as made in Egypt in his day, especially in the western oases, apparently consisted of the sap of the date palm obtained by making an incision in the heart of the tree, immediately below the base of the upper branches. As taken directly from the tree, the liquid was not intoxicating, but acquired this property by fermentation when kept. He states that a palm tapped in the manner mentioned was rendered useless for fruit-bearing and generally died.

Mr. Beadnell, who knows the western oases well, having lived in Kharga, of which he has published a description,[14] informed the writer that a palm wine of the kind described by Wilkinson was still produced in Dakhla.

Enquiries recently made in Cairo elicited the information that such a wine as that described was occasionally prepared in Egypt at the present day, but always from a male tree that was not required, and that the tree died, as the result of the operation, and was cut down.

[1] I, III. [2] I, IV. [3] *Geography*, XVII, I, 14.

[4] The practice of mixing wine with sea-water is also mentioned by Pliny (XIV, 9, 10). It was done apparently to improve the flavour, and also, according to Athenaeus (I, I, 59), because it was thought that wine containing sea-water never produced headache.

[5] *Geography*, XVII, 1, 42. [6] *Ibid.*, XVII, I, 35.

[7] *Natural History*, XIV, 9. [8] *Ibid.*, XIV, 22.

[9] U. Monneret de Villard, "Un Pressoio da Vino dell' Egitto Medioevale," *Reale Istituto Lombardo di Scienze e Lettere*, LIX, XI-XV, 1926; "Discrizione Gen. del Monastero di S. Simeone presso Aswan," *Annales du Service des Antiq. de l'Égypte*, XXVI, 1926, p. 231.

[10] F. F. Bruijning, "The Tree of the Herakleopolite Nome," ANCIENT EGYPT, 1922, pp. 1–8.

[11] II, 86. [12] I, 7. [In Booth's translation it is rendered "Phoenician wine."]

[13] *The Ancient Egyptians*, 1890, I, p. 55; in note to *Herodotus*, Rawlinson's translation, II, 86. [14] *An Egyptian Oasis*, 1909.

Bruijning suggests[1] that the palm wine used anciently was obtained, not from the date palm, but from other species of palm, such as the Raphia palm, probably *Raphia monbuttorum*, which he thinks may have grown in Egypt at one time, though it is not now found in the country. This, however, is largely conjecture.

Date Wine is mentioned in the VIth dynasty ;[2] it is also described by Pliny,[3] who states that it was made "throughout all the countries of the East," which probably was meant to include Egypt, though Egypt is not specifically named. It was prepared by steeping a certain kind of ripe date in water and pressing out the liquid. This, however, must be allowed to ferment, which it does naturally, before it becomes intoxicating, though the necessity for fermentation is not referred to by Pliny. A similar beverage is described by Burckhardt[4] as being made in Nubia by boiling ripe dates with water, straining the liquid and allowing it to ferment.

Until quite recently, a date wine such as that described was, and possibly still is, made in Egypt, but instead of being drunk it is distilled and the resulting spirit consumed. Three specimens of this spirit analysed by the writer contained 66·7, 29·6 and 49·3 per cent., respectively, of alcohol by volume, the third of the specimens being flavoured with aniseed. This date spirit, however, or any other kind of distilled spirit, cannot have been known in Egypt at any very early age, as the process of distillation was not discovered until comparatively late, and without distillation it would have been impossible to separate the alcohol present in liquids, such as beer and wine. When and where the discovery of distillation was made there is no evidence to show, but the first mention of it that can be traced is by Aristotle[5] in the fourth century B.C., who states that sweet water may be produced by evaporating salt water and condensing the steam, and that wines and other liquids can be submitted to the same process. Pliny also describes[6] two methods of distillation, both of which are very crude, from which it may reasonably be assumed that distillation in Pliny's time was still in a primitive and early stage. The first exact description of a still that can be found is by Zosimus of Alexandria, about the fourth century A.D., who gives a drawing of an alembic and receiver ; these he states were copied from an illustration in a temple at Memphis,[7] but which temple and of what date there is no record.

A. Lucas.

[1] Ancient Egypt, 1922, pp. 3 and 7.
[2] J. H. Breasted, *op. cit.*, I, 336.
[3] *Natural History*, XIII, 9 ; XIV, 19.
[4] *Op. cit.*, 1822, p. 132.
[5] *Meteorologica*, II, 11.
[6] *Natural History*, XV, 7 ; XVI, 21.
[7] Quoted in Hoeffer's *Histoire de Chimie*, 1886, I, p. 262.

CAPSIANS AND BADARIANS.

SINCE the distinguished German orientalist Dr. Scharff[1] has entered the field of West Mediterranean prehistory, to elucidate the mysteries of early Nilotic culture, it may be permissible for one who is no Egyptologist to traverse some of the arguments he has adduced. The Little African affinities of the First Predynastic culture had indeed been foreseen long ago by Petrie with his usual insight. Since then, Thomas[2] has shown that at least thirty of the signs on black-topped or white cross-lined vases recur on the walls of South-East Spanish caves, and that the featured head-dress worn by men, depicted on the same vases, is a heritage from the old Capsian culture represented in the cave-art. At the same time, the publication by Flamand[3] and Obermaier[4] of a series of rock-carvings from North-West Africa has disclosed yet more distinctly the stylistic affinities of this branch of Capsian (or Getulan) art with that of white cross-lined pottery in Egypt. In all these cases, the North African[5] and Spanish documents are either absolutely older than the Egyptian or at least definitely rooted in an ancient autochthonous tradition.

On the other hand, Dr. Scharff has adduced, as proof of a western *origin* for Early Predynastic, other types whose interpretation in this sense is doubtful. To begin with, he notes the appearance in Mauretania (and, he might have added, Spain) of tanged and concave-based arrow-heads. Now, in Egypt these go back to Badarian times, while, after all, the native Capsian arrow of all the Mediterranean coast-lands was the chisel-ended variety tipped with flint trapezes or lunates. These seem foreign to the Badarian and Fayum cultures, though both occur later in Nubia[6] at S.D. 37, if not before. We find the same type still in use by the plumed lion-hunters on the British Museum palette, and by those Minoans whose kinship with the " Libyan " elements in the First Predynastic culture is demonstrated by the block-figures and the sheath.[7] Hence the chisel-ended type was used, and used by Libyan elements in Egypt, but only after the development of the barbed or tanged varieties.

The first tanged arrow-head of Badari-Fayum type, cited by Scharff, from Mauretania, come from " dolmenic " tombs[8] whose general affinities actually lie with the graves of the Nubian C-group. In point of fact, its arrival in Africa

[1] *Grundzüge der ägyptischen Vorgeschichte* (*Morgenland* 12, 1927) and *Äg. Zeits.*, lxi, pp. 27 *ff.*

[2] *Journ. Roy. Anthrop. Inst.*, lvi (1926), pp. 385 *ff.*

[3] *Les Pierres écrites*, 1924.

[4] *Hadschra-Maktuba*, Frobenius and Obermaier, p. 192.

[5] Ostrich-shell beads, again, had long been current in the North African Capsian.

[6] *Arch. Surv., Nubia*, Report, 1907–8, pl. 62, b. 16 (grave 17, 50 ; also in grave 78 at same cemetery).

[7] Evans, *Journ. Roy. Anthrop. Inst.*, lvi (1926), pp. 216 and 219. Frankfort, *Studies*, ii, p. 97, *n.* 5.

[8] *Prah. Zeits.*, viii, pp. 1 *ff.*

Minor is a good deal older. Reygasse has found several variants in "early neolithic" deposits at Abd el-Adhim[1] in the Western Great-Erg and again at Redeye[2] in Tunisia, appearing with a little pottery as seeming intruders in a Final Capsian microlithic context where the graver still survived, while in the oasis of Négrine[3] south of Tebessa, in a late Tardenoisian context, only the lunate and the trapeze are found—types that are predominant also at Abd el-Adhim. None of these deposits are likely to be nearly as old as the lowest levels at Badari, while in Spain the tanged and mitre-form heads belong first to the relatively late phase of Los Millares.

Hence, the neolithic age begins on the Nile with types of arrow-head that are secondary further west; the true North African type first appears at a later date with the white cross-lined pottery. That suggests that, in addition to the current from the west that influenced Egypt in the First Predynastic age, we must reckon first with a counter-current reaching Mauretania after Egypt.

Other of Dr. Scharff's western parallels must be similarly explained. The tulip-shaped Badarian beaker[4] certainly has the same ancestry as the Bell-beakers of Los Millares, Palmella, and Carmona,[5] but it is quite certainly older than any of these. So the pedestalled bowl of white cross-lined ware[6] recurs near Carmona with the beakers, and survives into the Bronze Age at El-Argar. While the priority of the Badarian beakers is clear, no direct connection with the Spanish need of course be postulated, both having a basketry origin as the skeuomorphic patterns show. The ceramic technique, however, into which they were translated probably spread westward from Egypt, like the arrow-heads. How early such a spread may have begun is suggested by the early settlement at El-Garcel, in Almeria, where the globular bottle, with handles on the belly, as at Badari, appears in an early neolithic context with arms that are chisel-ended but not tanged or barbed.

The conclusion is, that there are elements in Badarian culture that are not African in the same sense as Early Predynastic is. In the latter, these elements are blended with others that are truly western; but even so, a westward current traversed North Africa and crossed the eastward drift.

V. G. Childe.

[1] *Rec. et Mems. Soc. Arch. Constantine*, 55 (1923–4), pp. 228 *ff.*
[2] *Ibid.*, 53 (1921–2), p. 194. [3] *Ibid.*, 52, (1919–20), p. 569. [4] Petrie, *Corpus*, N. 58.
[5] *See* Childe, *Dawn*. [6] *Corpus*, C. 40.

[Regarding the eastern origin of the Badarian people and culture, *see* the results of skull measurements in Ancient Egypt, 1927, p. 106.]

THE DYING GOD.

SPEECH No. 570, in the Pyramid Texts of Pepy and Merenra, appears to point to the sacrifice of the King as a fertility victim. It begins (1443): "The face of the sky is washed, the vault of heaven shines," which at once suggests the appearance of the sky after rain. Then follows an address repeated five times, each time to a different deity—Kheprer; Nut; Atum; the Powerful One, son of Geb; the Mighty One, son of Osiris. It continues (1449): "Thou art raised up to Pepy in thy name of Ra. Thou hast removed the bareness (nakedness) of heaven. Hor-Yakhti grants that he may hear his fame and his praises from the mouth of the Double Ennead. (1450) Twice happy art thou, says his mother. (My) heir, says Osiris. Pepy, Merenra, has not eaten the Eye of Horus. Say the people, Let him die for it. P.M. has not eaten a limb of Osiris. Say the gods, Let him die for it. (1451) P.M. lives on the bread (*'isnw*) of his father Atum. Thou protectest him, O Nekhbet; thou protectest P.M., O Nekhbet who art in the *Ser*-House which is in Heliopolis. (1452) Thou hast commended him to *'imï-ḫntï-f*; P. is a *ḫntï*: *'imï-ḫntï-f* has commended him to *'imï-spꜣ-f*; P. is a *ḫntï*. (1453) P.M. has escaped his day of death as Setesh escaped his day of death; P.M. has escaped his new moons of death as Setesh escaped his new moons of death; P.M. has escaped his full moons of death as Setesh escaped his full moons of death; P.M. has escaped his year of death as Setesh escaped his year of death (1454) by ploughing the earth. The hands of P.M. raise up the sky like Shu, the bones of P.M. are of metal, his limbs are imperishable [or, 'an imperishable star']. (1455) P.M. is a star opening the waters of heaven. Mount up to P.M., O God, and let him be protected. Heaven is not dry through P.M., nor is earth dry through P.M. for ever."

Again, in Speech 571, which is peculiar to the Pepy Text, there is another and rather different statement concerning the King's death. It begins by saying that the King was begotten "before heaven and earth existed, before men existed, before the gods were born, before death existed. (1467) P. escapes his day of death as Setesh escapes his day of death. P. comes not to your *wdr*, O gods of the Abyss (1468) who perish not on account of your enemies, P. perishes not on account of his enemies; and who do not die on account of the kingship, P. does not die on account of the kingship, and who do not die on account of any death, P. does not die on account of any death, (1469) for P. is an imperishable star. O . . . of heaven. Great One who is in the *Ḥt-sḳr*, Ra has taken to

himself this P. to the sky, that P. may live even as he lives who enters into the west of heaven and comes forth from the east of heaven. *'imï-ḥntï-f* commends P. to *'imï-sp³-f*, they protect P., for P. is a star."

In this Text I have translated as "kingship" rather than "king" on the analogy of , which can mean either the vezirate or the vezir, either the office or the holder of the office. This translation gives a meaning to an otherwise meaningless sentence, and shows that we are dealing with a royal and divine victim. The resurrection of that victim, which was one of the main tenets of the theory of the Dying God, is then emphasized by the statement that Pepy shall live like the sun, who dies at night to rise again in the morning.

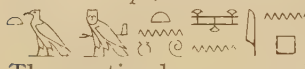
Both Texts indicate the actual or ritual sacrifice of the King, though much is obscure, owing to the corrupt state of the Text and also to insufficient knowledge, on our part, of the meaning of many of the religious ideas. In Speech 570 both mankind and the gods demand the death of the King, the reason of the demand being incomprehensible to us. The Eye of Horus is usually the equivalent of food, and the Limb of Osiris may be another synonym for the same. I therefore suggest that the meaning may be that as the King does not eat (perhaps owing to scarcity) he must die. The indication that this is a ritual death, and not an actual sacrifice, is given not only in the words "P. lives on the bread of his father Atum," but in the comparison of the escape of the King and of the god Setesh from death, the escape being apparently effected by ploughing the earth. The time of the sacrifice is indicated as being at a moon-period, the new or the full; the indication of the year is not given, but it was presumably after a limit of time. Here we are helped by the tradition concerning Mykerinos, whose length of life was limited by the priests of Buto to seven years. The use of the number seven suggests a lunar reckoning being in use, with divisions by seven; just as in later times the lunar amulet of the Sacred Eye is represented by multiples of four and seven. It is worth noting that the two lunar festivals of the month and the half-month (new and full moon) are also prominent among the dates on which the dead were commemorated.

In both Texts the King is called a star, but in Speech 570 the idea is developed rather further. The phrase is usually translated, "P.M. is a star, illuminating the earth." The determinative in the Text is, however, different and is of a man casting, , which has no connection with light or illumination; it is usually said to represent the action of sowing, the dots being taken as seeds, or even grains of natron. The dots, however, are like those on the sealings of Mersekha and Udy-mu (*Royal Tombs*, I, Pl. XXVIII, 72; II, Pl. XIX, 140) and on the painted inscription (*R.T.*, II, Pl. XII, 1), where there is no doubt that they indicate water; the figure also, in the sealing of Udy-mu, has the arms in the position of our determinative. In the Ist-dynasty examples, the figure swims above a sign; in the VIth dynasty, the figure, abbreviated after the fashion of the period, is distinct from the . The combination is, however, too close to be ignored. I therefore prefer to regard the signs as two words, *wp* and *s̬*, "to open the water."[1] This would, then, refer to Sothis

[1] For this reading, compare also Newberry, Ancient Egypt, 1914, pp. 151–2.

heralding the inundation.[1] The translation "P.M. is a star opening the waters of heaven" would thus contain a reference to the rain-making powers of the King. This reading appears to be borne out by the sentence which follows on almost at once: "Through P.M. the sky is not dry, through P.M. the earth is not dry for ever."

The epithet, "He who is in his *ḥntï*," is not explained, though in both Texts P. is said to be a *ḥntï*. I suggest that this word is from , *ḥnt* (limit). Thus *'imï-ḥntï-f* would mean, "He who is within his two limits," and the epithet, when applied to Pepy, would be "He who is limited." The only limits which could apply here are the limits of birth and death, and the man who was "limited" would be one whose limits of life were set. Nekhebt of El-Kab, equated by the Greeks with their goddess of childbirth, is the deity who commends the King to *'imï-ḥntï-f*. There is no indication as to who this personage was, but here I should like to make another suggestion. In the birth-scenes of Hatshepsut, Anubis is represented holding a circle. The presence of the god of death in connection with birth is inexplicable, unless we accept the object, which he holds, as the ὁρίζο τοῦ κύκλον, in the Greek sense of the words, "the limit of the circle." "He who is within his two limits" might well be Anubis, who, as god of death, sets the term of the royal life; and it is to the god of death that the birth-goddess commends the King whose limit is fixed.

The *'imï-spꜣ-f* means "He who is in his throne"; the throne being, as Kees points out (*A.Z.*, LVIII, p. 83), the carrying-litter peculiar to the King of Upper Egypt. An interesting point is that the word *spꜣ* is determined not only with the throne on the emblem of female divinities, but with the centipede, which was itself divine. Perhaps as a creature which lives in the earth it was connected with the chthonic god Osiris; certainly Osiris-Sepa is a fairly common epithet of the god. In this connection Kees also notes that the road which led from Gizeh through Babylon to Heliopolis was named "the Road of *Spꜣ*," and was under the protection of the Spꜣ. The road was also called  , "The Road of Anubis" (*Brugsch. Dict. Geog.*, 1108). The centipede as an underground creature would be associated with death; and it is significant that the road, along which the funeral processions of the Memphite Pharaohs went from the temple to the burial-place, was called by the name of both the centipede and the god of death.

The position of Setesh (Sutekh, Set) in our Text is one to which we are not accustomed. So far from being the Principle of Evil, as he appeared to Greek eyes, he is here the sacrificial victim, who was originally put to death, and whose escape from that fate is held up as an example followed by the divine King. Setesh was, according to Egyptian tradition, the god of the barren south in contradistinction to Horus, the god of the fertile north. It is probable that in the south a victim for the benefit of the crops would be considered more necessary than in the north where the harvests were more plentiful and less precarious. Osiris was a northern god, and the sacrifice of Osiris would be in

[1] The use of stars as heralds of rain, and consequent agricultural operations, was superseded by saints in Christian times; thus in Malta at the present day, Christ is said to give the keys of Heaven to St. Bartholomew on August 24th, that he may open the gates and let down the rain. There is generally a shower on that day or the next, and the black clouds which gather are said to show that the saint is oiling his keys in order to obey the Lord's command.

the north, while in the south the fertility victim was Setesh or his human representative a red-haired man. As the cult of Osiris gained ground by the southward migration of the northerners, Setesh became the great enemy; the tribal battles between the Setesh-people of the south and the Horus-people of the north were translated as the battles of the avenging son of Osiris against the murderer of his father. When this theory became established, it is very noticeable that the greater and more noble Osiris became, the worse and more malignant became Setesh. His career is that of many gods, who begin in glory and triumph and end as the devil. Bright-haired Apollo, glorious god of light, slew the Python, his predecessor in the godhead, but sank in the end into Apollyon, king and leader of the foul brood of locust-spirits who issued from the smoke of the bottomless pit. Osiris, the Good Being who died for his people, becomes, under Christian influence, ⲡⲉⲧⲟ ⲛⲥⲧⲩⲃⲟⲩⲗⲟⲥ ⲁⲩⲱ ⲡⲡⲁⲛⲟⲩⲣⲅⲟⲥ ⲡⲗⲓⲁⲃⲟⲗⲟⲥ ϫⲓⲛⲧⲉ ϩⲟⲩⲉⲓⲧⲉ, "the Counsellor and the Villain, the Devil from the beginning." *Sic transit gloria dei!*

M. A. Murray.

THE INTRODUCTION OF CHRISTIANITY IN THE RHINELAND.

This article is largely an amplification of a review which appeared in Ancient Egypt, 1927, Part II, of a recent publication by W. Neuss. The interest of the illustrations may, it is hoped, make up for some repetition in the accompanying letterpress.

The treasury of Cologne Cathedral preserves the upper portion of a staff called the "Staff of St. Peter." The legend connected with this staff relates that St. Peter himself sent three brave missionaries, Eucharius, Maternus, and Valerius, to convert the North. After crossing the Alps, Maternus died, but was restored to life after forty days by the touch of St. Peter's staff, which St. Eucharius had meanwhile fetched from Rome. It is, however, well to turn from delightful legends such as this to the evidence of objects found in graves, though the legend is interesting, if for no other reason than the following: It shows that the origins of Christianity in the Rhineland are as much wrapped in story as the beginnings of Christianity in Britain. I hope to emphasize a further similarity, namely, the Eastern origin of Rhineland Christianity.[1]

After this miraculous return to life, St. Maternus became, it is said, the first Bishop of Cologne. One of the earliest historical Rhineland bishops was, indeed, called Maternus, for Maternus of Cologne and Agroecius of Trèves attended the First Council of Arles summoned by Constantine in A.D. 314. Here, then, is a definite date to set against the vaguer datings which archaeologists can give to finds.

[1] For the Egyptian origin of Christianity introduced into Glastonbury, *see* Ancient Egypt 1916, Parts I and II, and for the entry of Oriental influences into England, *see* Strzygowski, *Origin of Christian Church Art*, translated by Dalton and Braunholtz, from which I quote the following passage:—

> "More than once we have found traces suggesting a connection with Antioch. I refer especially to monastic types reaching Ireland from the Eastern Mediterranean by the usual maritime routes followed by trade and colonisation. These types were developing in Ireland during the decisive years when the Anglo-Saxons were conquering England, and were preserved by a national Church throughout the two centuries when Teutonic paganism established itself in that country. Does any other hypothesis explain the fact that the Roman mission of St. Augustine and his successors was promptly confronted with a formidable resistance, formidable because it was offered, not by paganism, but by an advanced culture of East Christian origin? Does any other hypothesis explain the appearance on the Continent of Irish monks as teachers of Greek in the reign of Charles the Great? How, if we reject it, are we to account for the Gospels of Lindisfarne produced on that English Iona half a century after the foundation of its monastery in A.D. 632?"

The earliest Christian objects all point clearly in one direction : Christianity was introduced into the Rhineland by the Oriental merchants and craftsmen who brought the manufacture of glass to this district along the route of trade, culture, and Roman dominion by river from Lyons. The earliest glass definitely shows Oriental influence. There has been some difference of opinion as to the use of these early finds (plaques, spoons, bowls, etc.) ; they would seem to have been gifts between friends, precious objects owned and prized by wealthy people, and buried with them. The legends borne by some of them point to this conclusion, and argue against a religious use (*e.g.* "May the hand of Martinian flourish," on a mount from the coffin of St. Paulinus). (Fig. 1.)

Fig. 1.—Silver Plate, Coffin of St. Paulinus.

Most instructive of all is one of the "gilded glasses" which was found in 1866 near St. Ursula's, Cologne ; it is now in the British Museum. (Fig. 2.) Most of its centre is missing, but from the remaining letters EO DULCI may be restored the words [VIVAS IN D]EO DULCI [S], which would have been preceded by the name of the recipient. By analogy, the centre may be further restored by a group of the Good Shepherd carrying a lamb thrown across His shoulders, and a tree at either side indicating Paradise.

The scenes round the border are as follows (placed in reversed order) :—(1) Jonah swallowed by the whale ; (2) Jonah cast up ; (3) Daniel in the lions' den ; (4) the Three Children of Babylon in the fiery furnace ; (5) the healing of the young man born blind ; (6) a scene usually called the Widow of Nain, but, according to Neuss, really St. Thecla—a woman praying, with a bull and a wall on one side, the other side damaged ; (7) the healing of the paralytic, and (8) the dream of Ezekiel.

Scenes (3), (4), (6) and (8) show the influence of Egyptian or Oriental art, rather than Roman, in the following respects :—In (3), Daniel is clothed, as in Egyptian and North African representations ; moreover, he is standing between *four* lions, not two. In (4), the Three Children are naked, not "in their coats, their hosen, and their hats, and their other garments" (Dan. iii, 21). In the dream of Ezekiel (8), limbs only, and not entire corpses, are being touched by the staff ; the scene closely resembles in realism the oldest preserved Syrian example, a miniature of the 7th or 8th century. The scene of the woman praying and the bull (6) is, however, the most remarkable of all. It was formerly supposed to represent Susanna and the Elders, on the analogy of a fresco at Rome, where the legend accompanying a lamb between two wolves is Susanna Seniores. Neuss, however, would show that the subject is St. Thecla. Susanna is always dressed as a matron, while this figure is clad in a different garment ; her arms are bare, and she has no veil. The story of St. Thecla is known from the *Acta Pauli et Theclae*, which date from about the end of the 2nd century,

She was suspected of being a Christian and persecuted accordingly, with the following miraculous results :—The flames of her pyre were extinguished by rain ; at Antioch she was exposed to wild beasts, then fastened to a bull, and finally thrown into a pit of serpents, but she was delivered from all these perils. For these ordeals she was only allowed a loin-cloth, until the pro-consul was persuaded to grant her a garment—*procedit in bestario* (she enters in the arena-garment) is said of her in a so-called *Cento* which was probably composed in Southern Gaul in the 5th century. It is this garment which she seems to be wearing in the scene on the Cologne glass.

With the exception of St. Thecla, the themes represented above are among the earliest depicted in Christian art, and the inclusion of this apocryphal saint among the miracles of redemption is not as surprising as it seems at first sight. All the Old Testament themes on the glass belong to a definite series of Jewish prayers which, in association with complementary themes from the New Testament, were included in the *Commendatio animae* (death-bed prayers of the Roman Catholic Church). In these, St. Thecla is among the saints invoked. And, though it is true that her inclusion dates from the 16th century only, when the Breviary was reformed, yet—and this point is important—it was taken from the Gallic use. The *Acta Pauli et Theclae* were declared apocryphal immediately after their appearance, and the cult of St. Thecla was, accordingly, rejected at Rome and in Latin North Africa. In the East, in Egypt, and in Gaul, which was strongly under Oriental influence, her cult was, however, firmly retained. If the identity of the female figure in this scene be accepted, this would be the earliest representation of the saint. Next in date would come the terra-cotta pilgrims' flasks (*ampullae*) of the 4th century, the majority of which are from Egypt. In them the pilgrims carried away oil used for the lamps which were kept burning before the shrine of St. Menas, or water from his sacred spring. This shrine was one of the most popular places of pilgrimage in early Christian times. Several of the flasks show St. Menas on one side in the customary way, between two camels. The allusion is to a legend according to which the saint's body was placed on a camel which was let loose to follow what course it would ; the grave and, afterwards, the shrine were built at the place where the camel stopped. The reverse of some of these flasks is occupied by a female figure bound to a post. The upper part of her body is naked ; on her right is a lion, on her left a bear, and at either side, half-way up, a bull.

Another glass, found near Cologne in 1907, is preserved in the Wallraf-Richartz Museum there. It resembles the British Museum example in the incidents from the Story of Jonah, and in Daniel being clothed. A further divergence from Roman iconography is observable in the representation of Noah. Wherever Noah occurs in the Catacombs, he is depicted as standing and praying in the Ark, with the dove flying toward him, olive-branch in beak. The Ark is always shown as a gold chest. The scene in this instance has realistic additions in the shape of a dead ox floating in the water below the Ark, while another bird, a raven, is approaching the body. The Ashburnham Pentateuch, now in the National Library, Paris, also shows dead animals and corpses in the water. In an earlier treatise, Neuss showed that this MS. was written in Spain in the 7th century, and was based on ancient Christian traditions derived from North Africa. Equally realistic, and different from the traditional representation of this subject, is the treatment of Noah and his family on a red sandstone

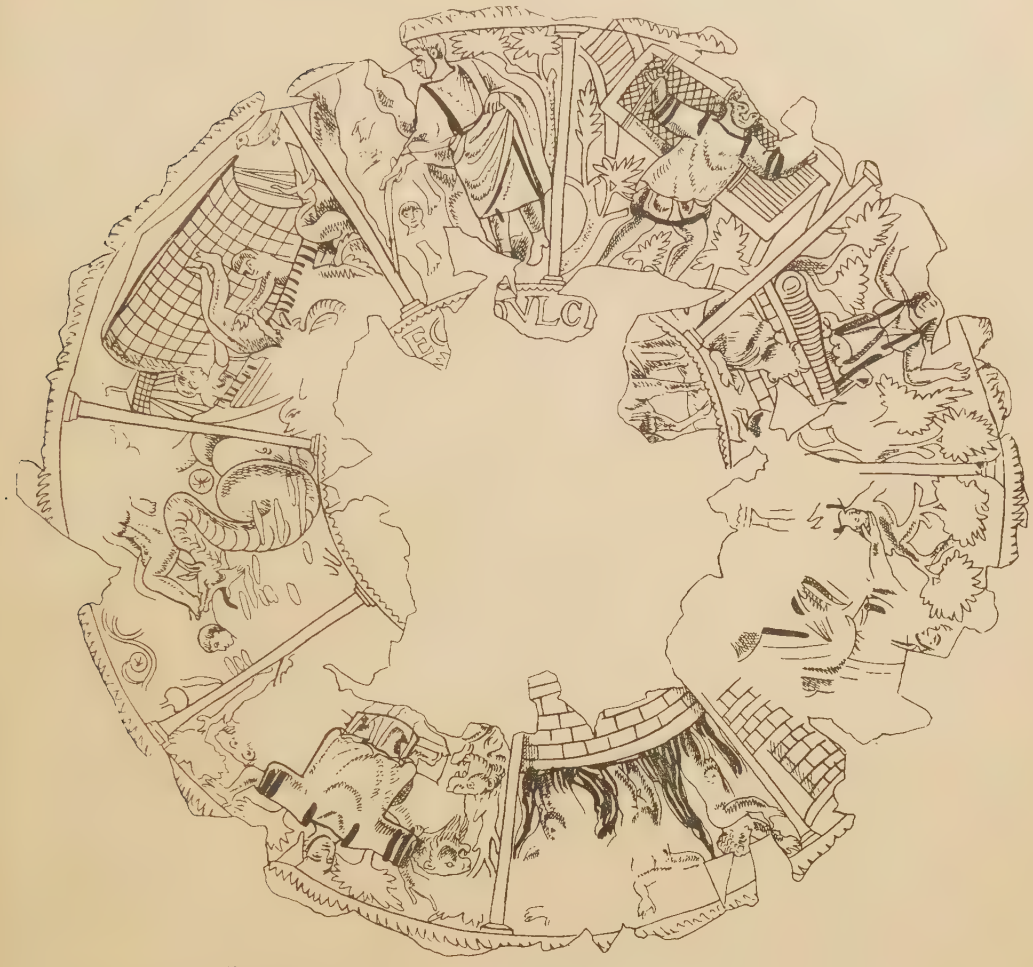


FIG. 2.—GOLD IN GLASS BOWL. BRITISH MUSEUM.

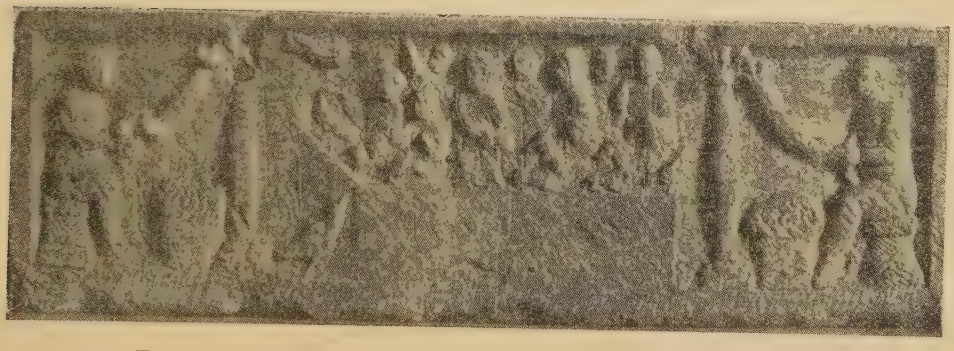


FIG. 3.—NOAH AND FAMILY ON SARCOPHAGUS FROM TRÈVES.

sarcophagus found at Trèves, and now in the Provincial Museum there (Fig. 3). On this sarcophagus the occupants of the Ark are increased according to Gen. vii, 7 *ff.*: "And Noah went in, and his sons, and his wife, and his sons' wives with him . . . the male and the female, as God had commanded Noah." Here again is the raven. This seems to belong to a series of ideas derived from the Orient, and peculiar to the art of the southern and western confines of the Roman Empire.

These Cologne glasses clearly indicate Oriental ideas derived from Gaul. They must have been the property of Oriental merchants who came to the Rhineland, following the river routes up the Rhône and Saône and down the Moselle and Meuse. Their date can hardly be later than the early part of the 4th century. In this connection we may recall the statement of Eucherius (*d.* 450 A.D.), to the effect that Egyptian monks settled in Gaul. The subjects and treatment on glasses found in late 4th-century graves are very different, and show closer connection with Rome. There is constant fascination in amplifying and vivifying archaeological remains with the help of written records, and the early 4th century becomes more defined if we imagine these objects to have been made for the followers of Maternus, the first historical bishop of Cologne.

The silver mount on the cedar-wood coffin of St. Paulinus (Fig. 1) is of historical interest, serving to date similar mounts in bronze from the Rhineland and Northern France, which were applied to little caskets containing offerings for the dead. The nakedness of Lazarus and the realistic treatment of the caskets is different from Roman art. St. Paulinus attended the Second Synod of Arles, A.D. 353, where his ardent opposition to Arianism caused him to run counter to the views of the Emperor Constantius II, who exiled him to Phrygia where he died. His body, however, was restored to Trèves, and buried in a cedar-wood coffin, enriched with these precious plaques.

In conclusion, we recall the fact that the origin of Christianity in the Rhineland is tantamount to the origin of Christianity in Germany. The Romans never succeeded in establishing themselves east of the Rhine, and the defeat of their legions by Arminius in A.D. 9 was the death-blow to this hope. The Provincial Museum at Bonn preserves the soul-stirring contemporary memorial stone of a Roman officer who fell, under Varus, in a fight "which forms part of our own national history."[1] The spirit of modern days has, however, preferred a more readily seen and more colossal monument to the victor, who was "far more truly one of our own national heroes than Caractacus," for "had Arminius been unsuccessful this island would never have borne the name of England."[1] After temporary stagnation consequent upon the final collapse of the Roman Empire, Christianity revived in the Rhineland, with the conversion of Clovis (A.D. 481–511), but the rest of Germany remained pagan until a much later date. Charlemagne brought Christianity to the Saxons by fire and sword, himself standing sponsor when Wittekind, the most obdurate of the Saxon chieftains, finally bowed his head at the font. While St. Willibrord (A.D. 657–739) set out from Yorkshire to preach the Gospel to the Frisians, St. Boniface of Kent became the "Apostle of the Germans"—he felled Thor's Oak in Hesse in A.D. 721—and sent his fellow-countrymen, St. Walpurga and her brothers, to found religious houses in Bavaria.

L. B. Ellis.

[1] Creasy, *Fifteen Decisive Battles of the World.*

REFRESHING IN THE UNDERWORLD.

The sculpture of Wersu and his wife found at Koptos, and discussed by Professor Griffith in *J.E.A.*, 1915, has been acquired by the Folkwang Museum at Essen. It was bought off a barge on the Nile, was next in private hands in England, and finally, through a Paris dealer, reached this Museum. It bears a curse which, it will be remembered, contains the terrible threat, "he shall not receive water in the Underworld," and the prayer for offerings includes a petition for "water at the drinking-place of the river." Doubtless the post of "overseer of the mountain-lands of gold of Amon" was an especially thirsty one, though, in any case, not to receive water must indeed have been a fearful fate to any member of a race whose minds were constantly occupied with problems of irrigation. In this connection it is of particular interest to recall Cumont's remarks on the echo of an Egyptian idea in our use of the word "refreshment." Cool water to the Egyptians was symbolical of the source of life which gave the thirsty soul immortality, so much so that the Latin *refrigerium* came to mean "refreshment—blessedness." In this sense the expression passed into the Church liturgy, and prayers are still offered for the refreshment of the departed in Paradise. "Let thy hand guide me to a place of refreshment," was the last prayer of Abbot Aredius.[1]

In the same way, the ancient idea of undisturbed rest in the tomb ("house of eternity" in Egyptian) survives in the phrase *domus aeternus*, though we no longer regard the grave as a place of eternal rest any more than we believe in the necessity for cool water or for other amenities of this world in the next.

L. B. Ellis.

[1] G. T. Vit. Ared. c. 33 (Migne, LXXI, p. 1138), from Dill, *Roman Society in Gaul in the Merovingian Age*.

REVIEWS.

A History of Egypt under the Ptolemaic Dynasty. By EDWYN BEVAN. 8vo. 393 pp., 62 figs. 1927. (Methuen.) 15*s.*

The rapid growth of our knowledge of the Ptolemaic period from contemporary papyri has surpassed the history written by Mahaffy twenty-eight years ago, which was revised half-way to the present time. Dr. Bevan judged it better to rewrite the subject altogether rather than patch the previous work, and he has spared no pains in making accessible the innumerable fragmentary sources, and discussing their implications. Finality in such a flow of material is not to be expected, but the present summing up may well hold the field till another generation, and stand as the most complete text-book for students, and a readable general history of this complicated period.

To begin with, there is the tale of the restless transitions, first from Persian rule to the power of Alexander, then of the agonies of the struggle among the Macedonian marshals, and of the settlement, at last, of a stable order under Ptolemy Soter. After that, more than a quarter of the book describes the organization of the country and the bureaucracy; the latter half of the book then deals with the gradual decadence of the rulers until their fall into the clutches of Rome.

The main subject of political struggle was the rival claims of Egypt and of Syria to the possession of Palestine; whichever was the stronger always advanced over the debated space between Pelusium and the Lebanon, the lure being the control of the Phoenician shipping at Tyre and Sidon which turned the balance of naval power in the Mediterranean. In the latter days, before Rome seized the land, the internal discords in the Ptolemaic and Seleucid families so weakened both parties that it was possible for the Maccabeans to rise to independence.

The subject of the relation of the old organization to that of Greek rule is scarcely touched; but when we see the permanence of so much in the conditions, it seems probable that the continuance should be presumed, except where it is clearly ruled out. For instance, the king acting as judge, and appeal to a royal court of justice, was new; the Pharaohs were legislators, but carefully abstained from usurping the function of hearing and judging cases. On the other hand, the system of a claimant running from one office to another in a complex bureau, as his own messenger, which Dr. Bevan considers strange, is still the custom—as probably it ever was. At the present day, to buy an official map, which is done at one counter in England, takes nearly an hour of visiting half a dozen offices, carrying papers and orders from one to another, in order to maintain a check on corruption.

It may be noted that the Thracian god Heron was not only established in the Fayum (p. 114), but also on the eastern border at Heroopolis or Pithom. The head on the copper coins is not that of Serapis, but of Zeus Ammon, as shown by the horn (p. 92). The settlement of Jews in Middle Egypt was in the 7th century B.C., naming Taharqa, not only in the 5th (p. 112). There are a few slight misprints, and the block, Fig. 44, is turned with the top to the left side. Such trifles can easily be rectified, and all students will thank Dr. Bevan for his guidance through a tangled history and for the full account of all the scattered sources on which it depends.

Israel among the Nations. By NORMAN H. BAYNES. 8vo. 327 pp. 1927. (Student Christian Movement.) 5*s*.

It is refreshing to meet with a sane book on the history of Israel, free from the usual perversity of critics. The Germanic custom of distrusting early literature and tradition, which has reigned from Niebuhr to Cheyne, was fostered by the academic habit of disputation, and the *advocatus diaboli*, inherited from the Middle Ages ; this made the rule of denial to be the road to success. In the last two generations, however, Homer has come into his own again ; through the Mykenaean discoveries, the early history and traditions of Rome are now seen to be in harmony with the evidence of migrations, and of cemeteries, and the opening of cities in Palestine has substantiated the history in the Old Testament. The recent clearance in six cities on the site of Gerar has given proof of the abundance of gold solely at the time of Gideon and the Midianite war, the common use of iron even before the time of Jabin's iron chariots, and the multitude of flint sickles when Isaac was reaping a hundredfold in that region.

The first half of the book is a continuous narrative of the relations of Israel with Egypt, Canaan, Assyria, Persia and Greece. The second half is occupied with bibliography, and very full notes of various views on disputed matters. This full documentation is of much value for any one wishing to read up the details on any point. As a whole, it gives a depressing view of the incessant contradictions between various critics, and shows the urgent need of first-hand material evidence from work on the sites, to control the gratuitous fancies which pass for criticism. The date of the Exodus and of Joshua is placed here in accord with Egyptian conditions, but the importance of recent discoveries, bearing on the origin of the historical record, is not noticed. Joshua is recorded to have conquered Galilee, without any mention of the Philistines, yet by the time of Saul they were at the key position of Beth-Shan, so the book of Joshua was written before the conditions of the monarchy were currently accepted. Further, the entry into Palestine must be after the campaign of Ramessu III, as the Egyptians were in occupation of Beth-Shan and its surroundings till then. Again, Shishak's list of towns captured, which has been condemned as a mere copy of an earlier list, is now confirmed by his inscription found as far north as Megiddo. Thus, Mr. Baynes' position of accrediting the records, unless directly disproved, is more than justified by recent results of tangible evidence.

In one point Mr. Baynes appears to depart needlessly from the account in Genesis, in bringing the date of Abraham down to 1500 B.C., contrary to the results of Albright's examination of the sudden fall of the Bronze Age cities near the Dead Sea about 1900 B.C. (ANCIENT EGYPT, 1926, p. 120). The long ages attributed to the Patriarchs seem to preserve a true chronology, rather

than the number of generations. The case is as if a modern person, who knew history by report rather than by books, would naturally describe Louis XIV, XV and XVI as successive generations, and lengthen out the individual history to fill the time, or place George II and III next to each other in descent, forgetting "Fred, who was alive and is dead." So the reckoning of time is more likely to be preserved than the memory of obscure links in a pedigree. Another strong inducement to lengthen the reckoning of individual generations was the female headship of the clan which lasted from adolescence to death. It was not till Sarah was dead that Isaac married a fresh regent of the clan, and brought her into his mother Sarah's tent and rights; also this heirship could only descend through the legitimate female head, who could not be married till the death of her predecessor. Thus the reckoning and descent through the female regents would be on a far longer scale than ordinary male generations.

Ueber die Wasser- und Baumnatur des Osiris. Mit Heranziehung folkloristischer Parallelen. By I. Frank-Kamentzki. (Archiv für Religionswissenschaft, XXIV, heft 3–4.)

In this essay, two Caucasian popular tales of the present day are in particular brought to our notice for comparison with Plutarch's narrative of the Osiris myth, and they deserve retelling in some detail in order that the material upon which the writer bases his argument may be rightly indicated. Frank-Kamentzki is of opinion that the distinction often made by Egyptologists between divinities local and divinities cosmological, sound enough maybe in dealing with the historical period, must not be taken for granted as holding good for prehistoric times. Indeed, judging from cases such as that of Thoth or Mut, cosmological qualities would appear to have been inherent, in these local deities at least, from the very beginning.

Osiris, again, is not merely the local god of Busiris, he is god of vegetation, he is water-god, he is god of the Underworld. How far the cosmological conception of him is retained in Plutarch it is difficult to estimate, for this is a literary form of the primitive material carried out on a cultural level far higher than that on which the myth originally developed; and it must not be forgotten that later non-popular versions had usually some ulterior motive behind them which warped and distorted the stories at the will of aetiology. In this way could the animistic tree-spirit, sighing from its prison in the cedar of Lebanon, become the coffined god round which there grew up a tamarisk-shrub, an episode artificial and unconvincing of itself which otherwise does its hard-put manufacturers small credit.

In both tales quoted by Frank-Kamentzki, the part of Osiris is played by a woman; but this external difference is amply compensated for by the greater verisimilitude and smoothness of the narrative in the former, suggesting that the male actor is here of later origin. The first tells of a maiden who, to escape her father, persuades him to have a new house built, and then bribes the workmen to hollow the central column and give it a secret door. Here concealed, she thinks to evade him, and he, unable to find her, has the house pulled down and the timber thrown into the water. All this transpires and, like Osiris, she is carried to a foreign land where the column is found by the king's son washed ashore, and is set up in his new bedchamber. Then follows a non-Osirian episode, in which the maiden comes forth by night, wakens the sleeping prince with a

kiss, and ere long becomes his wife. The golden-haired boy born to them, however, and the charge of child-murder later brought against the mother, are reminiscent of Plutarch and Diodorus, whilst these seeming counterparts of Isis and Horus are reinstated or resuscitated by the kindly intervention of the biblical heaven-sent raven and dove.

It is a peasant's daughter of whom we hear in the second tale, flying before the dagger of her father; for the harvest has been bad and he has heard that he will get good crops again if he buries her dead body in his field. Pursued till they come to a river with a tree growing on the brink, the maiden hides herself so successfully in the foliage that the peasant gives up the chase, and doubtless offers some substitute for his refractory daughter by means of which to improve the crops; for he appears no more to disturb her peace. The king of the land out hunting lies down to rest beneath the tree and, seeing the maiden, would make her his queen; but while he is away fetching her fine clothes from the palace, another maid, cunning but hideous to behold, pushes her into the water, takes her place in the tree and dupes the king into marrying her. When the real bride fell into the river, however, she had turned into a mermaid, so the king has her fished out and put in a vessel in the palace. Thereupon the queen has her killed; but from her remains springs up a miraculous tree, withering or flourishing with the absence or presence of the king. So it is hewn down. A spindle then found in the splinters turns into the rightful bride, and the cycle of transformations being thus complete, it is to be hoped she comes into her own at last.

Here we have the fusion of the dryad with the naiad in one and the same character; the maiden's tree-nature is shown first by her self-concealment in the tree, and then again later when she actually becomes a tree, and because of her water-nature she becomes a mermaid when she falls into the river. And does she not further stand for the powers of vegetation? for was it not her body that was to have ensured the fertilisation of the fields? Both tales hinge on the immersion and emergence of the main actor in water, the second theme of which is obviously the older. Man's developing curiosity, however, demanded an explanation as to how the divinity that arose from the great deep came to be there, to arise. *Hinc illae lachrymae!* Osiris the god voyages on the deep, sharing the experience of the gods of many a cosmogony and of the heroes and heroines of many a legend; yet Sargon, Moses, Danae and Perseus, Aphrodite, and the two maidens of our Georgian folk-lorists are none of them drowned, and Seth's precautions to keep the water out (if indeed Plutarch anywhere refers to the covering of the chest with pitch as Frank-Kamentzki states) suggest that he feared Osiris was still alive. In other words, casting his enemy into the water might have none other effect than to transform him into a water-being.

Reference has already been made to the original tree-nature of Osiris if with Seth we interpret the "*wailing*" of the "*cedar*" as the wailing of the god concealed therein, to which conception the etymological connection between the two words in Egyptian lends every support. Thus Plutarch here preserves to us an older thought than that to be found in the Osiris corn-mummies, which belong to agricultural men, just as tree-worship belongs to his evolutionary predecessor of the primeval forest.

We look with interest for further research in this direction by comparative mythologists, who must have much light to throw upon the inner meaning of myth and custom, if the co-relation of some half-dozen chapters of the De Iside

and two living tales from a single region can reveal so much, and can suggest the fact not only that they derive from a common origin, but that the modern versions are more nearly allied to the primitive ancestor from which they sprang. Folk-lore may thus be able to give us help, when history, archaeology and philology without it shall have been unable to provide the full solution to the object of our questionings.

L. M. W.

Vie de Petosiris. By Émile Suys. 8vo. 156 pp., 6 pls. 1927. (Fondation Égyptologique, Bruxelles.)

This is a popular summary of the important Perso-Ptolemaic tomb of the High Priest of Hermopolis, whose striking theological and ethical declarations have been noted in this Journal (1921, pp. 82, 85; 1922, pp. 83, 85, 87; 1925, p. 120). The full description of the tomb has been published in three volumes of the Service des Antiquités, and the present is a summary of the matters of general interest. The history of the worship of Thoth, and the effect of the Ethiopian and Persian conquests is outlined. The well-known customs and beliefs are recounted, and the ruin of the temple by invasion. The pious rebuilding by Petosiris, and the preparation of his tomb, and ceremonies of burial, fill other chapters. The daily occupations in the next world are described. The last chapter notices the pious inscriptions which are of striking importance. The account will interest the reader who is not already familiar with Egyptian thought and habits; but those who know somewhat already, would have welcomed a more systematic account describing the tomb and the scenes as compared with similar works that are known. The most original feature is the frequency of children and infants represented in the procession of produce, some riding on the shoulders, others kissed, others running by their mothers. It joins the domesticity of the Egyptian with the activity of Greek art.

Schiffahrt und Handelsverkehr der Östlichen Mittelmeeres im 3 u. 2 Jahrtausend v. Chr. By August Köster. 384 pp., 4 pls. (Beihefte zum Alten Orient, 1924, Heft I.)

Dr. Köster argues that the Phoenicians as traders and seafarers appear late in history. He points out that their chief wealth in early times was not from the sea, but from the timber which was exported to other countries, notably Egypt; and he notes that even at the present day the coastwise Syrians do not live, as might be expected, on fish, but are agriculturists. Dr. Köster devotes several pages to proving that the keelless boat of the Egyptian sculptures was seaworthy and that it was frapped. He thinks that boats so made could fare easily from Egypt along the coast of Syria in summer weather, either under sail or propelled by oars. He, however, omits to notice, in support of his theory, that though the prehistoric Egyptian boats are always represented with oars, there is often in the field of the vase the representation of a mat-sail. He is strongly of opinion that the Aegean and Egyptian peoples were sea-traders earlier than the Syrians, for, as is well known, Cretan objects of an early period are found in Egypt and Egyptian objects are found in Crete. Ancient Babylonian objects (*Kulturgut*) are found in the Aegean islands brought by an unknown trade-route, the evidence suggesting that it was not through Phoenicia. It is possible that the part played by Troy as a world-mart has not been fully appre-

ciated. The Egyptian records first show the maritime activities of the Phoenicians in the reign of Thothmes III, and it was in the last quarter of the second millennium that Phoenician trade really developed, and the Phoenicians became the chief traders of the ancient world. As regards the Aegean traders, their boats were keeled, being always built for use in the open sea. The small inter-island traffic was conducted, as it still is, by little open sailing-boats, but the big trading-vessels certainly went as far as Egypt. The Aegean trade consisted at first probably of raw materials, and later of manufactured goods. In early times the system of barter must have been used ; but when Crete held the carrying trade she appears to have invented a medium of exchange in the form of weights or ingots of gold or copper. These are found not only among the islands but also at Mykenae, in Sardinia, and in Dalmatia ; and in the tomb of Rekhmara representations of such ingots are shown among the gifts brought by the Cretans to the court of Thothmes III.

M. A. M.

La mise à mort du dieu en Égypte. By A. Moret. Sm. 4to. 57 pp., 18 figs. 1927. (Geuthner.) 15 frs.

This essay was delivered as the Frazer lecture at Oxford in 1926. It opens with the animal view of primitive civilisation, the need of maintaining life to the individual and his descendants, and the performance of magic to ensure that end by acting on the course of nature. The next stage is to slay a god to obtain the benefit of his powers. The magic is considered for the end of commanding Nature, and for bringing the inundation. The commanding of the Nile took place at Silsileh ; the images of the Nile and the large offerings are named ; the bride of the Nile is described. Unfortunately the writing of the essay just preceded the identification of the figures of Nile ceremonies, analysed in " The Royal Magician " (Ancient Egypt, 1925, p. 65).

The death of the gods is proved by the body of Atmu at Heliopolis, of Anhur at Thinis, of Osiris at Mendes ; the sky god, the elder Horus, was cut in pieces ; and Set was killed after his cutting up of Osiris. All of these were reborn, and thus continued their existence of power. This cycle of divine life was then performed as a mystery-play, in order to ensure the benefits to the country.

The passion of Osiris is thus an emblem of the harvest, the threshing, the sowing and the rebirth of the corn. After figuring the scene of offering first-fruits and the harvest, there comes the harvest-scene of dragging the *stat*, a tall mass, bandaged, and crowned with feathers. This is taken by Professor Moret as a model granary. It was the tears of Isis, on the death of the corn-god, which produced the inundation. Statuettes of Osiris were made, fertilised by water, and buried in the ground to ensure its fertility ; also the well-known linen sheet, with a large figure of Osiris upon it, was covered with corn kept moist till it germinated.

The same ideas were held about the gods. Apis was killed and eaten, while the bones were embalmed. Men were sacrificed, especially those with red hair, and, after burning them, the ashes were scattered like winnowing corn. The king was even deposed if the crops failed, as he was an ineffectual magician. In Ethiopia the king was put to death by the priests when they decreed the necessity, as in Fashoda in modern times. The Sed festival is quoted as a ceremonial death of the king, after which he renewed his birth. An appendix

follows on the plaited corn in the straw, here called the "corn maiden," which is supposed to be represented in two scenes of the XVIIIth dynasty. Certainly such figures are plaited now and hung up as charms, both in Egypt and Cyprus.

The Fellahin of Upper Egypt. By WINIFRED S. BLACKMAN. 8vo. 331 pp., 186 figs. 1927. (Harrap.) 15*s*.

Various women have given some account of residence among the Egyptians. Signora Belzoni described an adventurous life. Mrs. Poole travelled and resided with her well-known brother, E. W. Lane, and described the life of Cairene women. But the intimate life of the fellahin had scarcely been touched, and it is well, therefore, that Miss Blackman has lived for some seasons among the people to collect their beliefs and practices, which are only accessible by gaining personal confidence. The subjects studied were the village life, customs from birth to death, fights, industries, agriculture, magic and spirits, holy and unholy, festivals and story-telling. A subject of archaeological interest is the pottery, and the different methods of work are fully described. The prehistoric working with one hand inside the pot seems extinct, and the methods are more like those of historic times in combining handwork with wheelwork, also the use of a retaining-cord around large vessels, common in the XVIIIth dynasty. The account of the beliefs in magicians and holy men is good, for understanding not only the mind of the Egyptian but also the scope of early thought. The power of hallucination, in calling up the vision of a person (p. 193) is also to be studied in the apparent use of red-hot iron which leaves no burn on the face, although well-educated Englishmen may believe that they see it used. We might note various other beliefs not yet collected, such as Baduh, the genius of the post, written in numerical values, 2, 4, 6, 8, upon letters, in order to propitiate it; the prayer on seeing the new moon, evident moon worship; the cleansing of the site of a sudden death by driving in iron nails and pouring out lentil soup a month later; the fumigation of women at a station by turning on engine-steam; the procession of the bridal sheet; and the drinking of water before statues in the Museum, to the fury of de Morgan when he understood it. By oversight, the drawing of a house section by Mackay (p. 281) is not acknowledged to ANCIENT EGYPT, 1916, p. 170. This book will certainly be a store for tracing beliefs, and getting an insight of the native mind which explains the past. There is yet far more to be done, especially in the fitting together of past and present, which are so much alike in Egypt.

Handbook of the Collection of Musical Instruments in the United States National Museum. By FRANCES DENSMORE. 8vo. 112 pp., 43 pls. 1927. (Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C.) 45 cents.

This is a valuable illustrated catalogue for purpose of study and comparison. It has but few contacts with Egypt, as most of the specimens are American or far eastern; but it should be known to all students, and a note at the end states that it can be obtained from the Superintendent of Documents, at the above address and price, postage under 10 cents.

JOURNALS.

Annales du Service. XXVI.

DARESSY, G.—*Voyage d'Inspection de M. Grébaut en* 1889. M. Daressy notes that a large manufacture of antiquities was carried on at Akhmîm, especially in wooden statuettes and inscribed mummy-labels. The detailed account of the condition of monuments at that date is a useful record, but not of general import now.

AIMÉ-GIRON, NOËL.—*Trois ostracon Araméens d'Éléphantine.* These had been thrown away by a previous excavator, and were now rescued from the sebbakhin. They are given in photograph for the sake of the writing, but unfortunately do not add to history.

ABOU-SEIF, HAKIM.—*Fouilles faites à Tehneh.* This account does not state whether the rock-tombs were of the late date of the contents, or were older tombs re-used ; nor do the additional notes of MM. Lacau and Gauthier settle this. The contents were blue-glazed ushabtis, and canopic jars of a priest of Amen ; *mer nut that* vizier, Onkh-unnefer ; a divine father of Amen, Amen-em-apt ; a prophet of Amen, Onkhef-ne-Tehuti ; a second prophet of Amen, Pa-khred-ne-Ast.

JEQUIER, G.—*Fouilles dans le partie méridionale de la nécropole Memphite.* The Mastabat at Faraun appears to have been stripped of casing by Khoemuas. It had a lower course of granite. The chambers are entirely built of granite, finely jointed, plainly panelled. The passage has three portcullises, never lowered, a large chamber, with small chambers for offerings, and a false-arched chamber for the burial. The fragments of the sarcophagus are of a fine-grained quartzose schist. The whole work is closely like that of Menkaura ; no further evidence is found of the name of Shepseskaf.

Close to the north-west of the enclosure wall was found a pyramid of Uzebten, queen of Pepy II. The entrance on the north opened beneath the paving outside of the pyramid ; the work is irregular and poor. The chamber-walls have been smashed, but fragments show that they bore the pyramid text, probably copied from Pepy's without a change of gender. No trace of sarcophagus was found, and the funeral vases were nearly all smashed ; hard stones were used as well as alabaster. The chapel is on the east face, and figures of the queen remain on the jambs. A fine altar of offerings, with steps rising to it, is of the same type as the altar of Kemmu, wife of Uah-ka of Qau. Part of a decree remains concerning the priests and offerings, dated in the 33rd year. Many private tombs adjoined this pyramid, and a doorway is copied of Ptah-se-onkh and his wife Hem-onkh or Hema. Other tombs are of Bau-khu, Ada, of whom there is a fine coffin with false doors, Ptah-uasha, and Henna who had painted stone models of offerings. The site of the lower shrine of Pepy II has been almost destroyed for stone.

Lefebvre, G.—*Herihor, Vizir.* This was the founder of the XXIst dynasty. The inscriptions on his statue from Karnak are here discussed. The statue placed in the temple was not granted by favour of the king but "by favour of Amen."

Lacau, P.—*Suppression des noms divins dans les textes de la chambre funéraire.*—In the formulæ the gods' names are spelled alphabetically, and Osiris is only called "Lord of Zeddu." Even the royal *nesut* is written *n.s.u.* The examples of this usage are on a sarcophagus of the Vth or VIth dynasty (Semnefer), and with other details of the VIth (Heliopolis).

Gunn, B.—*Inscribed sarcophagi in the Serapeum.* Only four of these sarcophagi bear inscriptions, those of Aohmes, Cambyses, Khabebesh, and *n* with blank cartouche. They are theological in substance, and a correction is made to usual rendering of the name Hep written with the goose; but this seems to be a phonetic complement, as it is used also with the name Hepy, one of the sons of Horus. It is also noted that it is not the Osirified Apis, as it is often the Apis-Osiris; this implies that it is a compound name of two gods, like Sokar-Osiris. In a separate paper following, Mr. Gunn corrects the translation of two Aohmes inscriptions, by the meaning of *nefer* as a negation (Gard., *Gram.*, p. 351), so the sense is that "His Majesty found that it (a sarcophagus) had not been made in a costly stone by any king at any time." This is a claim as starting the granite work, and hence all the Serapeum sarcophagi are later than Aohmes.

Gauthier, H.—*Nouvelle statue Thébaine de Sakhmet.* This is doubtless from one of the statues made by Amenhetep III; Sekhmet is called "lady of Khefti," an unknown place.

Firth, C. M.—*Excavations at Saqqara* (1925–26). This describes the entrance colonnade to the temenos of Zeser with its forty attached columns, which show a curious timidity in not leaving them free-standing, probably owing to the small sizes of the blocks used, only about 6 inches high. Two foreign heads conjoined are cut in black granite, and are described as being "of the so-called Hyksos style." This plunges deeper into the confusion of false names. The "so-called Hyksos" are not possibly Hyksos, but are earlier people, whom there is reason to look on as the Galla ancestors of the Uahka and XIIth-dynasty rulers. Further, the new heads are most distinctly not of this race. The mouth is straight, lips thin and compressed, and cheek-bones not prominent. They are clearly of another race, subjugated by Zeser, like two heads in University College, the purpose of which is shown by the head on a door socket (*Hierakonpolis* III). The Zeser heads were likewise belonging to the base of a statue, at C on the plan supplied. The feet of the statue here have on the top of the stool three rekhyt birds (representing the land-owners of Egypt) in front of the toes, while under the feet are the nine bows (representing foreign peoples). On the front of this stool the Horus-name *Neter Khet*, and a *bat*-name *Senui*, hitherto unknown. May this possibly reflect the claim of Khosekhemui, "the two gods are at peace in him"? Thus the reconciliation of Set and Horus is expressed more shortly, by Zeser himself, being the impersonation of the two brothers, *Senui*. The stool also bears the titles and name of Imhetep as royal seal-bearer,

deputy of the king, prince of the palace, high-priest of Heliopolis, and axe-man (architect). In the next bay to this base was a stand with lions' legs at the corners and twelve lions' heads around it. A similar stand is represented in the scene of *Sed heb* festival of Sahura.

In the ground south of the temenos a search was made before using it for dumping. In one tomb a seated figure of a scribe, and a fine wooden statue of a woman, were found, both published with the account. The skeleton of a horse of the XIXth dynasty was found in a ridge-roof coffin.

Edgar, C. C.—*Tombstones from Tell Yahudieh.* These are of Sabbation and Nardion.

Chaaban, M.—*Mission à l'obélisque d'Abguig* (*Fayum*). The limestone basis of the granite obelisk has been found, 142 inches square and 71 inches under the ground. As the obelisk lies on the ground, this shows that it was overthrown at least two thousand years after it was erected.

Aimé-Giron, Noël.—*Réfection du mur d'enceinte du grand temple de Dendérah sous Tibère.* A stele with a figure of Tiberius offering to four deities has thirteen lines of Greek inscription, stating that Caius Galerius being prefect, Quintus Praesidius Pedo Epistrategos, and Zoilos Strategos, the rebuilding of the temple wall was completed in the 9th year of Tiberius, 4th epagomenal day, or August 27th, A.D. 23.

Picard, C.—*Une "Coré" Grèco-Égyptienne de Memphis.* This is published in Edgar's Cairo catalogue of Greek sculpture ; it is carved in white limestone, and is here discussed in technical detail, concluding that it is the work of an Egyptian influenced by an Ionian type.

Chevrier, H.—*Travaux de Karnak* (*Mars–Mai*, 1926). The third pylon has been further evacuated, removing 12 blocks of Hatshepsut's sanctuary, and an immense block of alabaster, with cornice, probably from the roof of that building. One block has an excellent figure of the queen holding the flail, running forward, with the Hapy bull, a conflation of the scenes B and C in this Journal, 1925, p. 67. Other blocks show the queen kneeling under the protection of Amen, while Mut and Hathor give life to her. There is also part of a scene of Tehuti and another god pouring life over her.

The site of the Akhenaten statues has been further cleared, and there are bases of twelve, and nearly all the statues overthrown and more or less broken. They are extraordinary travesties of the king, apparently done while the "new art" was finding its feet, before it removed to Amarna.

The immense block of alabaster of the chapel roof, weighing 90 tons, cannot be removed without risk to the buildings ; the face will therefore be sawn off.

Lacau, P.—*Un des blocs de la reine Ramaka.* This discusses the block with the bark of Amen, and that of the queen running with the bull, without defining any explanation, or alluding to the Nile-bringing elsewhere expressed.

Lefebvre, G.—*Les colonnes de l'hypostyle du temple de Khonsu.* The inscription of Herhor, as high-priest of Amen, are copied in full ; they occupy four columns, and similar inscriptions of Ramessu XI are on the other four.

Aimé-Giron, N.—*Stèle trilingue du stratège Ptolémée fils de Panas.* This declares the dedication of land south of the temple, from the east of the temple of Soter to the canal, in 12 B.C. The geographical position is discussed.

Gunn, B.—*A Shawabti-figure of Puyamre from Saqqara.* This was found in a model pottery coffin buried a hundred metres south-east of the temenos of the Step-Pyramid. It is of fine hard limestone, 12 inches high, finely cut. From the name and titles it is doubtless for the same man as the tomb 39 at Qurneh. Four other instances of ushabtis placed in holy ground, far from the tomb, are quoted.

Wainwright, G. A.—*A subsidiary burial in Hap-Zefi's tomb at Assiut.* This belonged to the steward Heny. The tomb shaft was almost across the axis of the entrance, and it was probably that of the steward of the first owner of the tomb before Hepzefa, at about the IXth dynasty. The pottery tray of offerings is earlier than the soul-houses; the canopic jar has arms in relief holding the breasts, like the arms on the canopic of Uah-ka. The seated figure of Heny is of clumsy, heavy style.

Gunn, B.—*The coffins of Heny.* The loose boards which had formed the coffins are here described. They have the usual list of offerings, drawn with names; also part of an astronomical scene, which requires discussion with other lists.

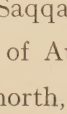
Quibell, J. E., and Olver, A.—*An ancient Egyptian horse.* The burial was at Saqqara, subsequent to the leaving of papyri dated to Ramessu III; therefore "anything between the XXth dynasty and the Ptolemaic period." The horse is of North African type, not Arab.

Gunn, B.—*Inscriptions from the Step-Pyramid site.* This deals with the fragments of the statue, the base of which is already described in the report on the excavations in this volume. It is concluded that the rekhyt were a Delta race subjected by the Egyptians; this hardly takes account of the important position of these on monuments, and the high officials who patronised them. That they were the freehold peasantry seems the most likely (see Ancient Egypt, 1925, p. 105). An architect's diagram of the IIIrd dynasty is described; it is a part of a quadrant with vertical sectors having numbers written against each. These numbers are 98, 95, 84, 68, 41 digits (expressed in cubits, palms, and digits), and produce an empirical curve not the arc of a circle. Hence the architect drew an outline at discretion, and then measured it off to give directions to the clerk of the works.

Edgar, C. C.—*Fragments of papyri from Oxyrhynchos.* A list of the carvers of hieroglyphs at Oxyrhynchos, only five in all. A letter from the man who made this official return, to his father, mentions that the centurion at Akoris (Tehneh) had sent to him for the carvers. Probably workers in the special trade, who were only wanted when monuments were required, went about from place to place for a few months or years as business arose. This was in A.D. 107, when temples were on the wane. A few lines belong to the campaigns of Alexander in India; this may be from Ptolemy's history. The other pieces are purely literary.

Monneret de Villard, Ugo.—*Discrizione generale de Monastero di San Simeone presso Aswân.* This account is similar to that in the author's book on the subject, which was reviewed in our last number.

Daressy, G.—*Recherches Géographiques.* This discusses the principal sites of the northern Delta, below Tanta, taking into account Hogarth's exploration of the region. This study is essential for future work, but cannot be usefully summarised.

Gauthier, H.—*Statuette antérieure à la XIe Dynastie.* This is the leg of a wooden figure on its base, probably from Saqqara, as it adorns Ptah-Seker-Osiris of Onkhtaui. It is of the *rapot hat* of Auntyt; then follows  ? which is supposed to be "of the south and north," *i.e.* Dendera and Heliopolis, but it is very unlikely that places so far apart would have one ruler. Perhaps the whole group is "royal . . . of the town," the supposed *meh* being really some official title. He was a mayor of the south court of thirty, Khnumu-em-hat, son of Antef

Zur Geschichte der jüdischen Kolonie von Elephantine. By W. Struve. (Bulletin de l'Académie des Sciences de l'U.R.S.S., 1926.)

Dr. Struve discusses the date of the foundation of the Jewish colony at Elephantine as an Egyptologist and not as a Semitist. The Aramaic papyri give a *terminus ante quem* in the words of the representative of the colony to the Persian governor: "Already in the days of the Kings of Egypt our fathers built that temple in the fortress of Yeb, and when Cambyses came to Egypt he found that temple in existence." According to Dr. Struve, the inscription on the statue of Es-hor (Nesu-hor), a great official of King Apries, gives the *terminus post quem.* Es-hor was "appointed by his majesty to a very great office, the office of his eldest son, Governor of the Door of the South Countries, to punish the foreign countries which rise against him." After an invocation to the deities of the Cataract, Es-hor gives an account of all the works he had done for the gods and also the reason for his piety: "For you rescued me from a miserable plight at the hand of the mercenaries, Bedouin, Greeks, Asiatics and others, who had set their hearts [to evil] and had set their hearts to go to Shas-hert. His Majesty feared the evil which they should do. I re-established their hearts according to my project, and did not permit them to proceed to Nubia, [but] caused them to go to the place where his majesty was, that his majesty might execute their punishment." This inscription has long been recognised as the account of the mutiny of the mercenaries under Apries recorded by Herodotus. The mutineers were all foreigners, "Bedouin, Greeks, Asiatics and others." They were sent to the Pharaoh; and though the form of their punishment is not recorded, it is very certain that unreliable troops would not be allowed to return to an important frontier fortress. Dr. Struve argues that the Jewish colony could not have been founded before the mutiny, as the Jews would have been deported with the "others," and thus arrives at the *terminus post quem.* The Biblical account shows that Apries, directly after his accession, adopted the ancient idea of Asiatic conquests. He hoped to find in Judaea the fulcrum for his Eastern campaign, and the little Hebrew kingdom was induced by its reliance on Egyptian help to make war on the Babylonian empire. Apries

knew the gravity of the undertaking and the need for soldiers. Dr. Struve suggests that the mutineers were removed from the comparatively safe quarters at Elephantine and were distributed among the troops at the front, and that this was the "project" which Es-hor records. After the war the depleted garrison would be brought up to its original strength, partly by Egyptian soldiers and partly by Jewish fugitives, who, according to Jer. xliv, 1, 15, went to Pathros (P^{3}-t^{3}-rsî), the South Land of Egypt. These Jewish fugitives of the year 586 B.C. would therefore be the founders of the colony at Elephantine, who "in the time of the Kings of Egypt built that temple in the fortress of Yeb."

The Difnar (Antiphonarium) of the Coptic Church. Part II. By DE LACY O'LEARY. 119 pp. 1928. (Luzac & Co.) 12*s*.

This part of the Coptic Difnar contains the four months Tubeh, Amshir, Barmahat and Barmuda. The text is taken from the Vatican Codex Copt. Borgia 59. The fact that Dr. O'Leary is the editor is a guarantee of the accuracy of the edition; and it is most important for the study of the language that such texts should be accurately published, and presented in an accessible form. The whole study of Coptic has suffered because so few reliable texts have been available, and the thanks of all workers in this field are due to Dr. O'Leary for his labours.

M. A. MURRAY.

RECENT DISCOVERIES OF THE BRITISH SCHOOL OF ARCHAEOLOGY IN EGYPT.

THE exhibition of recently discovered antiquities has been held annually in University College, Gower Street, for thirty-five years or more, during three or four weeks of July. It will not be of less interest this summer than in former seasons, thanks to the site chosen, and the labours of our seven students, who in the past few months have indefatigably pursued our field work on the lines laid down, the previous season, at Gerar.

The year's work began with the copying of wall-scenes in the rock-tomb of a daughter of Khufu, at Qau, in Upper Egypt. This occupied five of our staff until Christmas, after which four of them moved to South Palestine, to resume our excavations there. Mr. Starkey had meanwhile done some exploratory surface work in East Palestine, and joined the party at Tell Fara, in the province of Beersheba, to take charge of the expedition, from January till May.

The *tell* is a large mound with important remains, and adjacent cemeteries. Sir Flinders has identified the name Tell Fara with that of the O.T. city Beth-paleth.

The forthcoming exhibition will contain the various objects found in this site, including bronzes, painted pottery, some gold-work and jewellery, and will be open from July 6th to 28th (10–5, daily) and on evenings of 10th and 20th, 6.30–8.30, admission without fee or ticket.

HILDA PETRIE.

NOTES AND NEWS.

The British School of Archaeology in Egypt continues its work in "Egypt over the Border," on Tell Fara; the two cemeteries are being cleared this season, while we postpone the work on cities of the Tell to future years. Already, by March, twice as many scarabs and seals were found as those from Gerar, and a large amount of perfect pottery. When the stone-walled houses can be cleared in the Tell we may hope for much more of the general objects; already the level of the XVIIIth dynasty has been reached. The lecture on the discoveries will be given at University College, Gower Street, on Thursday, May 24th, at 2.30 p.m., and repeated on the 25th at 5 p.m., and on Saturday, 26th, at 3 p.m. The Exhibition will be from July 6th to 28th, and the evenings of the 10th and 20th. Last winter, Lady Petrie stayed in England to collect the funds which are essential for the work of excavating. The Director was engaged in archaeological research and writing in Rome.

Archaeology in England has suffered a great loss by the death of Dr. Hogarth at the age of 65, when we might have hoped for many years of his ripe knowledge and experience.

Another loss, especially to American work, is that of Arthur Mace, who died in hospital at New York. He had worked for the Exploration Fund, for Dr. Reisner, and for Dr. Lythgoe, mainly on the pyramid field of Lisht, and latterly in the Tutonkhamen tomb. We might have hoped for twenty years more of his activities, and especially for the publication of all his work at Lisht, of which only one tomb has been issued.

The retirement of Mr. Quibell from the management of the Cairo Museum has been sadly clouded by the sudden death of Mrs. Quibell, who began her labours in Egypt with the Egyptian Research Account, and afterwards constantly joined in her husband's work, illustrating much of his discoveries.

Last winter has proved a rich period of discovery in many countries. In Egypt, the opening up of the fine relief-sculptures of King Zeser beneath the great wall at Saqqarah has been eclipsed by the finding of unexpected chambers below the Step-Pyramid. These have beautiful figures of Zeser in very low relief, and the walls are lined with blue tiles to imitate matting; there is also a great mass of fine stone vessels, some of which bear names of earlier kings. It is now supposed that the rooms below the wall were intended for a pyramid there, but the site proved unsuited to so great a pile of masonry, and, therefore, the rooms were duplicated under the fresh site used for the Pyramid. The other chambers, which were covered with the wall, were used for a very important burial, perhaps of Imhetep the architect.

The work of clearing the tomb of Tutonkhamen has gone forward, and the canopic chest has been cleared, as well as most of the boxes of objects in stone. There is still much to be done, before the total is known. Then there comes the business of efficient publication, and some efforts of the civilised world to galvanize the Egyptians into providing for all the treasures bestowed on them by excavation. So far, nothing has been started for the great building needful to safeguard all the new discoveries. All that is done is to squeeze up and displace the crowded contents of the present museum, without providing any efficient space for the new material.

In the Fayum, Miss Caton-Thompson has been clearing up the Ptolemic irrigation system, finding a stone-lined reservoir of over 500 cubic yards for the vineyards. A site with flint tools of the early dynasties has been fixed, also with stone vase working and supplies of gypsum.

Mr. and Mrs. Brunton have been continuing to seek the Badarian remains, and obtained further results which somewhat extend our view of the period, and which will be reported in our next number.

Mr. Francis Rodd has been studying the Tuareg in the centre of North Africa, and considers that the rock-drawings of figures wearing feathers show a kinship with the figures with feathers in the XIXth dynasty invaders of Egypt.

At Ephesus, an enormous stairway, dedicated to Isis or Serapis, is reported by the Vienna expedition.

Further east are the most important discoveries by Mr. Woolley at Ur, where he is bringing to light the works of an earlier civilisation than was hitherto known, of astonishing splendour, and fine workmanship. An entire new section of Oriental history, which must have a long past behind it, is now being opened. The marvellously rich details of jewellery in the tomb of queen Shub-ad have been reported in *The Times*, and it is surprising that the brick arch and domes were already used at that date, a thousand years before Naram-Sin. Near Kish other remains of this age are found, opening up the private life of the time with pictograph tablets, seals and pottery, probably pre-Sumerian. All of this great past was as remote before the Assyrians as they are before us.

In the Indus valley, perhaps, a still earlier past will be reached ; the upper city of Mohenjo-Daro, of which 13 acres have been cleared, is only the top of 30-feet depth of earlier buildings, before the upper layer, which is estimated at 3,000 B.C. The fine brickwork and provision of regular drainage place this civilisation on a higher level than those of Iraq or Egypt. The subjects of the art are clearly Indian, and mark the civilisation as being native, though largely influenced from the Sumerian. Our former workers, Mr. and Mrs. Mackay, are in charge of this research.